Managing Security Threats: Building Resilience for the Africa We Want
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INTRODUCTION

After almost over two years of wide scale global restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, including person to person contacts and large gatherings, the Tana High-Level Forum was once again in the full complement of in-person participants for its 10th anniversary in October 2022. As usual, the events took place at the Tana Lake in Bahir Dar, in the Amhara Regional State, in Northern Ethiopia from 14th to 16th October 2022.

The theme of this year’s (2022) Tana Forum was “Managing Security Threats: Building Resilience for the Africa We Want”. It focused on a broad range of security threats in Africa, inspired by Africa Union’s (AU) annual themes for 2021 and 2022, notably: “Arts, Culture, and Heritage: Levers for Building the Africa We Want” and “Building resilience in nutrition in Africa to accelerate human capital, social and economic development.”

Drawing on the 2021 State of Peace and Security Report, different threats to peace and security on the continent resurfaced: increasing cases of military coups especially in West Africa; intra-state conflicts; international conflicts such as the Russia-Ukraine war; and the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and other emergent global/regional infectious disease threats. All these important drivers of insecurity with direct and indirect effects on Africa’s peace and security strides provided the content of the in-depth conversations that ensued during this 10th anniversary of the Tana Forum.

Customarily, this 10th annual Tana High-Level Forum assembled a richly diverse participant portfolio – delegates and panellists alike - to further discussions on outstanding and emerging peace and security questions on the African continent. The discussions were structured in a manner that encouraged meaningful, informed, informal but robust conversations on the subject matter.
BACKGROUND TO THE TANA HIGH-LEVEL FORUM

INTRODUCTION TO THE FORUM

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) of Addis Ababa University convenes the Tana High-Level Forum annually as a flagship conference designed for dialogues and conversations on African peace and security issues. This initiative is crucial to shaping dialogues aimed at sustaining peace and security and driving the implementation of the African Union Tripoli Declaration of August 2009 that appeals for “African solutions to African problems.” The Tana Forum has since become a marketplace for the exchange of ideas, frank reflections and the generation of policy options for peace and security in Africa.

Since inception in 2012, the Tana Forum has convened annually, with different thematic focus. A distinctive feature of this Forum has remained the rare partnership built with prominent African leaders, including incumbent and former Heads of State. Through years of high-level engagements with a broad range of participants including political leaders, diplomats, scholars, practitioners, international and civil society organisations, the Forum has spearheaded policy dialogues on urgent security dilemmas plaguing the continent. The open conversations about these otherwise classified issues, and the respectful channelling of truth to power, embody the “spirit of Tana” and have afforded the Forum the opportunity to effectively lead futureproofed solution-oriented discussions about peace, security, and development in Africa.
FORUM OBJECTIVES

The Tana Forum aims to provide a platform for decision-makers, practitioners, and citizens to meaningfully engage with, and discuss, issues of peace and security in Africa to develop insights into the drivers of security risks and the opportunities and solutions towards addressing these challenges facing the continent.

The specific objectives of the 10th Tana Forum were to:

• create a common understanding of building systemic resilience from below;
• interrogate the impacts of COVID-19 along with other multifaceted aspects in the context of peace and security;
• give attention to climate change and climate resilience challenges;
• interrogate the functional relevance of existing peace and security institutions and normative frameworks at regional and continental levels;
• probe the resurgence of military coups in Africa, and explore pathways to enhance compliance with continental, regional and national laws to address threats to constitutional order in member states;
• examine the role of peace and security in culture and heritage protection;
• explore actionable ways to mainstream and strengthen youth and women’s inclusion,
• explore opportunities to strengthen resilience in (nutrition and) food security;
• provide participants with an opportunity to rethink the nature, character, and goal of international partnerships vis-à-vis the state of peace and security in Africa; and
• synthesise knowledge and insights that would support the strategies and actions of national, regional, and continental actors.
EXPECTED OUTCOMES

At the end of the three-day dialogues, the Forum was expected to:

• demonstrate a shared understanding of current and emerging peace and security threats in Africa;
• commit to managing threats by investing more in governance and building resilience with significant premium given to citizens’ active and sustained participation in public affairs;
• document Africa’s contribution to the management of the pandemic, including investment in research and knowledge products that reflect Africa’s solution to a global problem;
• work towards a comprehensive policy with an implementation strategy on climate mitigation and adaptability that would be key to driving climate resilience, especially in the context of peace and security at national, regional and continental levels;
• develop a shared understanding of the importance of promoting the voice and agency of citizens by localising peacebuilding and by bringing it much closer to the grassroots;
• dialogue on how to enhance the ability of governments to manage current threats effectively which rests largely with the constituency of the youth and women;
• unpack how Arts, Culture and Heritage, the AU theme for 2021, can be converted into currencies for promoting enduring peace in the light of the continent’s myriad challenges; and
• show how diversity, equity and inclusion are reflected in Africa’s international partnerships and engagement with the world.
MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRPERSON

CELEBRATING 10 YEARS OF RESOUNDING SUCCESS – TANA@10!

In the spirit of commonality, wisdom, and moral duty symbolised by the baobab tree, I welcome you to the 10th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa.

The Tana Forum, represented by the baobab tree, is emblematic of ‘sitting together, talking together, and discussing together. Since its inception in 2012, the Tana Forum has afforded frank and candid discussions on topical issues of regional and global relevance. It will continue to do so in the years ahead. This year, we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Tana Forum, and I would like to congratulate everyone for making the Tana Forum a resounding success story where ideas, solutions, and networking are pollinatated.

I would also like to thank H.E. Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, the government, and the people of Ethiopia for hosting the Tana Forum all these years. Further appreciation goes to all partners and donors, and, here, allow me to be specific, the German government for its financial support to the Tana Forum all these years.
In the candidness that defines the Tana Forum, I would like to raise some cogent issues of significance that we will need to contend with and, in doing so, create opportunities that transform these challenges. Our world today is experiencing a host of challenges, and we make no mistake about that. Our continent, Africa, and the world must address ongoing socioeconomic, political, and security challenges head-on. The African continent is mired by unconstitutional changes of government, intra-state conflict, and terrorism that continue to punctuate our peace and security spheres. Our continent has witnessed six ‘successful’ coups, and two attempted coups in the last two years alone. Authoritarian entrenchment seems almost a hallmark not only in Africa but around the globe.

Climate change, migration, and health security issues – COVID-19 and Ebola continue to bane progress. Again, Africa faces the spill-over effects of great power competition. In the globalised world of the 21st century, development and security challenges are not localised but internationalised. We need a concerted effort – academics, politicians, religious leaders, artisans, each of us – to muster the will to address these challenges by working together.

The AfCFTA, instituted in 2021, offers a significant groundswell for Africa to leapfrog into an arena of opportunities for industrialization and export development. Our governments and people should work concertedly in this regard. On the governance front, 41 out of 55 member states are voluntary members of the African Peer Review Mechanism. We should work together assiduously by rigorously implementing the African Governance Architecture to reach universal accession by 2023. Africa is not the next frontier; we are the emerging frontier for peace, security, and development.

It is my earnest belief, not hope, that working together in the spirit of multilateralism, Africa and the rest of the world can and will open new vistas for our collective socioeconomic, political, and progress if we work together as opposed to against each other. We should, and we must, in this era of global interdependence.

As leaders, in whichever field, domain, or level we find ourselves, we need to flip the script and talk about our goals, actionable policies, and the specific support we need from each other. Let us engage – let’s sit, talk, and discuss together – herein lies the spirit of Tana.

A warm welcome to Tana@10!

H. E John Dramani Mahama
Former President of Ghana and
Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board
The Board of the Tana Forum provides both strategic oversight on the Forum as an institution and decides on each Forum’s broad agenda and participation. It is comprised of eminent African personalities who have demonstrated leadership, inspiration and experience in their fields of endeavour. The membership of the Board shall demonstrate regional, gender, intergenerational and cross-sectoral representation. These personalities have political and practical experience in conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction at national or regional levels and will be able, through their networks in Africa and globally, to steer the Forum in the right direction.

**H.E. John Dramani Mahama**  
(Chairperson)  
Former President, Republic of Ghana

**H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn**  
Former Prime Minister,  
Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

**H.E. Dr. Joyce Banda**  
Former President,  
Republic of Malawi

**H.E. Catherine Samba-Panza**  
Former President,  
Central African Republic

**H.E. Michelle Ndiaye**  
Special Representative of the Chairperson of the Commission and Head of the African Union Liaison Office in DRC,  
African Union Commission.

**Amb. Lakhdar Brahimi**  
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
People’s Republic of Algeria and  
Former United Nations and Arab League Special Envoy to Syria

**H.E. Dr. Lassina Zerbo**  
Former Prime Minister,  
Burkina Faso

**Amb. Soad M. Shalaby**  
Director-General,  
Egyptian African Centre for Women (EACW)

**Mr. Alain Foka**  
Journalist, Radio France International, France

**Prof. Patrick Loch Otieno Lumumba**  
Former Director and Chief Executive Officer,  
Kenya School of Laws

**H.E. Temesgen Tiruneh**  
Director General,  
National Intelligence and Security Service,  
Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

**H.E. Hirut Zemene,**  
Ethiopian Ambassador to Belgium
TANA TECHNICAL COMMITTEE

The Technical Committee advises the Tana Secretariat on the organisation of the Forum, and on procedure and content to strengthen the Forum’s capacity to generate fruitful discussions and give participants a meaningful experience.

**Mr. Alex Ratebaye Tordeta**  
(Chairperson)  
Deputy Chief of Staff,  
African Union Commission

**Dr. Linda Darkwa**  
Secretariat of the Training for Peace (TfP) Programme

**Ms. Hafsa M. Maalim**  
Independent Consultant

**Ms. Hannah Tsadik**  
Head of Policy and Thought Leadership,  
MasterCard Foundation

**Dr. Jide M. Okeke**  
Head of the Regional Programme for Africa,  
UNDP Regional Service Centre in Addis Ababa

**Ms. Yvett Ngandu Kapinga**  
Commissioner, Gender Promotion, Human and Social Development,  
Economic Commission of Central African States (ECCAS)

**Ms. Faith Mabera**  
Senior Researcher,  
Institute for Global Dialogue

**Ms. Shuvai Busuman Nyoni**  
Executive Director,  
African Leadership Centre (ALC)

**Ms. Lettie Tembo Longwe**  
(Ex-Officio Member)  
(Ex-Officio Member) Interim Director of Africa Peace and Security Programme,  
IPSS and Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat

**Dr. George Mukundi**  
CEO,  
Maendeleo Group
CONCEPT NOTE

1. INTRODUCTION

Intending to play a crucial role in bringing about sustainable peace and contributing to the implementation of the African Union’s Tripoli Declaration of August 2009, the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at Addis Ababa University (AAU) convenes an annual security event, the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, or popularly known as Tana Forum. The Tana Forum is an initiative that responds to the Declaration’s appeal for “African-led solutions” and its call for responding to peace and security as a collective “intellectual challenge”. As a result, the annual Tana Forum emerged as an independent platform initiated by IPSS and eminent African personalities, including Meles Zenawi, the late Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The Tana Forum brings African leaders, decision-makers, and stakeholders to engage and explore African-led security solutions.

The centrepiece of the Tana experience is the baobab tree. Its symbolism of dialogue facilitates an informal and collaborative environment to discuss topical issues related to peace and security. The main Forum is complemented by panel discussions and bilateral talks, leading to frank and candid discussions and experience sharing. The Forum derives its name and takes place each year at Lake Tana in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia.
II. CONTEXT

This year (2022) marks the 10th anniversary of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa. It coincides in a critical moment in Africa and the world as the COVID-19 pandemic exposed fragilities and divisions while highlighting inequalities, globally and locally. While old fault lines remain, new ones are producing tensions and threats that are converging within - rather than outside- states in a way that is exposing the underbelly of fractured state-society relations.

The signals of threats to peace and security across the African landscape are evident in the decline of democratisation, weakening of critical public institutions, the resurgence of ethnoreligious and other parochial identities, food insecurity and weak preparedness of African state to address its impact and externalities, the proliferation of actors and risks in ways previously not contemplated, and the limitations of reactive, military responses. Yet even at that, the prevailing cloud of uncertainty provides the opportunity to think deeply and act tenaciously to confront such triggers and enablers of today’s insecurities. Understanding Africa’s security threats today also requires rethinking the role of actors and initiatives at national, regional and continental levels and that of international partners in soliciting solutions.

This year’s Tana Forum is invariably about how best to respond resolutely to emerging socio- economic, political, governance challenges or manage such threats in a way that does not lose sight of the continent’s most valuable resource: its citizens. How arts, culture and heritage, as well as resilience in nutrition and food security, the AU theme for 2021 and 2022, respectively, can be harnessed to promote enduring peace considering the continent’s myriad challenges needs to be interrogated. By shifting focus away from states and institutions to citizens who, ultimately, have the legitimacy and influence to make change happen, the course of a better future becomes clearly defined and attainable.
The theme of this year’s Tana Forum is framed around the following issues:

- Building resilience has gained new currency in light of new fragilities imposed by the outbreak and spread of the COVID-19 pandemic and state measures to curb it,

- Measures towards building resilience must be deliberate in placing citizens at the centre, recognising their agency in the process of reimagining governance and peacebuilding,

- Building resilience is not a one-off event but a process that takes time and resources,

- The state may only play a role that is necessary and desirable in building resilience if the deeply fractured social contract with citizens is repaired, and

- The international community may contribute to building citizens’ resilience but must do it in a manner that is cognizant of their priorities.
III. GENERAL AND SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

The overarching objective is to explore issues at the intersection of building a people-enabled peace, security and resilience in line with the African Union theme of the year 2021 “Arts, Culture and Heritage: Levers for Building the Africa We Want”. It is also worthy of note that the African Union theme of the year 2022 emphasises “Resilience in Nutrition and Food Security”. Alongside taking stock of the evolution of certain peace and security challenges on the continent, the focus will be on mobilising and building the type of home-grown and local resilience that centres African agency.

Specific objectives include:

• Create a common understanding of building systemic resilience from below:
• Interrogate the impacts of COVID-19 along with other multifaceted aspects in the context of peace and security,
• Give attention to climate change and climate resilience challenges,
• Interrogate the functional relevance of existing peace and security institutions and normative frameworks at regional and continental levels,
• Probe the resurgence of military coups in Africa,
• Explore pathways to enhance compliance with continental, regional and national laws to address threats to constitutional order in member states,
• Look at the role of peace and security in culture and heritage protection,
• Explore actionable ways to mainstream and strengthen youth and women’s inclusion,
• Explore opportunities to strengthen resilience in (nutrition and) food security,
• The Forum further aims to offer participants an opportunity to rethink the nature, character and goal of international partnerships vis-à-vis the state of peace and security in Africa, and
• Synthesise knowledge and insights that would support the strategies and actions of national, regional and continental actors.
IV. TANA FORUM 2022 SUB-THEMES AND GUIDING QUESTIONS

The 2022 Tana Forum sub-themes will be anchored on the AU theme of the year 2021 on “Arts, Culture and Heritage: Levers for Building the Africa We Want”. Furthermore, the AU theme of the year 2022 will be the basis upon which the discussion should be furthered to explore means through which resilience in nutrition and food security can be strengthened. Reflections on lessons learned and the impact of Tana @10 in the peace, security and development areas.
V. TANA 2022 SIDE EVENTS AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

The Secretariat undertakes the following pre-Forum activities in the months leading up to the main Forum.

1. Experts Meeting: This is a meeting among a selected group of experts well-versed on the selected theme of the Forum that is held to identify, discuss, debate and recommend. Recommendations from the expert meetings are submitted to the Secretariat for use in the Forum's agenda-setting around identified subthemes. The objectives of the expert meetings are:

   - To define the scope of the selected theme of the year;
   - To identify sectors and domains where policymakers may develop policies to advance the role of the African Union, African states and other stakeholders;
   - To produce theme summaries that serve as guiding points to the session’s discussions in the Tana Forum;
   - To recommend key speakers and presenters on the topics that will be addressed during the Tana Forum;
   - To propose and develop a theme on the outlines for the Tana Forum background papers.
2. Press-Conference and Ambassadors’ Briefing: With the view to brief, promote and engage with Addis-based ambassadors and members of the media, the Press Conference and Ambassadors’ Briefing takes place one month before the main Forum, on the event, its objectives, topic, theme, participation and envisioned outcomes. The Tana Chairperson and a Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative will address the ambassadors and AU officials. In addition, the Ambassadors’ Briefing serves as a platform where Addis based Ambassadors’ can dialogue on the theme of the year. In addition, local, regional and international correspondents based in Addis Ababa, are invited to the press conference.
3. Pre-Tana Multi-Stakeholders Forum: The Tana Secretariat holds a series of multi-stakeholder forums in the months leading up to the main Forum. These pre-Forums are geared towards ensuring the inclusivity of all stakeholders in Tana and related activities and also gather information that will complement the discussions at the main Forum. Accordingly, the following Pre-forums have been held from August 2021-April 2022:

- Pre-Tana Regional Multi-Stakeholders Forum on the theme ‘Human and Drug Trafficking in Africa: Unlocking Human Freedom’ with the support of Humanity United on 19 August 2021 in hybrid format.

- Pre-Tana Regional Multi-Stakeholders Forum on the theme ‘Emerging Technologies and their Impact on Stability in Africa” with the Mission of Japan to the African Union on 14 September 2021 online.

- Pre-Tana Regional Multi-stakeholders Forum on the theme “The Impact of Peace and Security on Culture and Heritage Protection in Africa” on 21 April 2021 in Hybrid format.

The following Pre-Tana Forums will be held in the upcoming months with various partners:

- Pre-Tana Regional Multi-stakeholders Forum on the theme “Climate Induced Violence in Africa” in partnership with United States Institute of Peace.

- Pre-Tana Regional Multi-stakeholders Forum on the theme ’Security Challenges and Working Solutions in Central Africa’ in Partnership with ECCAS and Humanity United-Pre- Tana Regional Multi- stakeholders Forum on theme TBD with Swiss.
4. Pre-Tana Youth Consultation Forum: To make the Tana Forum as inclusive and participatory as possible, Tana Secretariat holds a youth consultation forum. This Youth Consultation Forum serves as a platform for young Africans to engage and mobilise on the Tana Forum theme and youth-related issues regarding peace and security on the continent. In the year 2021, Youth Day was celebrated internationally on 12 August, the 2021 theme “Transforming Food Systems: Youth Innovation for Human and Planetary Health” which availed an ideal opportunity to hold the Pre-Tana Youth Consultation Forum on one of the threats Africa faces today, food insecurity. Hence, the Tana Forum Secretariat, in partnership with UNESCO, held a regional youth consultation forum on the theme “Transforming Food Systems: Youth Innovation for Sustainable Peace and Security”, which resonates with both the theme of the international youth day and this year’s Tana Forum.
5. The Tana Forum Lecture Series on Leadership in Africa: The Meles Zenawi Lecture Series is dedicated to honouring the life and legacy of great African leaders who had or have been advocates of panAfricanism and contributed to the well-being of Africans. The purpose of the leadership lecture series is to celebrate these achievements and call to action the spirit of emulation based on the vision and ideals these leaders stood for.
6. Vice-Chancellors’ Dialogue: The Forum, in collaboration with Bahir Dar University, convenes vice-chancellors of university presidents across Africa for a debate (open to the public) on the year’s theme. Among others, the Vice-Chancellors’ Dialogue aims at bringing in the perspectives of those governing institutions of higher education and who are shaping future generations of African leaders’ narratives. It is also aimed at expanding and enhancing the participation of stakeholders on issues of the main Forum.
7. **Side Events:** Side events are parallel seminars (informal) organised on the evening preceding the start of the Tana Forum on selected topical themes related to peace and security at regional, continental, and global levels. They are usually organised in collaboration with partners who have a specific interest in discussing particular issues of mutual interest.
8. Annual University Essay Competition: Youth from various African universities will be competing on the selected theme of Tana 2022. Besides serving as an additional platform to ensure youth’s inclusivity, the Essay Competition complements ongoing debates and agendas on peace and security contributing to policy building and development.
9. **Annual Book Launch**: This is a platform where books written by African and non-African published authors that fulfil requirements set by the Secretariat present their books focusing on peace, security, development and governance to the various high-level participants of Tana Forum.
11. Tana Forum Policy Briefs (Tana Papers): Tana Forum also presents a compendium of policy briefs that offers policy recommendations to address a number of peace and security challenges in Africa. Ultimately, the aim is to provoke deep discussions on security threats and resilience across multiple.
VI. EXPECTED OUTCOMES

The following are expected outcomes of the Forum:

• A shared understanding of current and emerging peace and security threats in Africa.
• Commitment to managing threats by investing more in governance and building resilience, with significant premium given to citizens active and sustained participation in public affairs, remains an important component in achieving resilience;
• Document Africa’s contribution to the management of the pandemic, including investment in research and knowledge products that reflects Africa’s solution to a global problem;
• Work towards a comprehensive policy with an implementation strategy on climate mitigation and adaptability would be key to driving climate resilience, especially in the context of peace and security at national, regional and continental levels;
• A shared understanding of the importance of promoting the voice and agency of citizens by localising peacebuilding by bringing it much closer to the grassroots;
• Dialogue on how to enhance the ability of governments to manage current threats effectively rests largely with the constituency of the youth and women;
• Unpack how Arts, Culture and Heritage, the AU theme for 2021, can be converted into currencies for promoting enduring peace in the light of the continent’s myriad challenges needs to be interrogated;
• Understand and capture how diversity, equity and inclusion are reflected in Africa’s international partnerships and engagement with the world.
VII. FORUM STRATEGY (PARTICIPATION, DISCUSSION FORMAT, IMPACT AND EFFECTIVENESS)

The Forum will bring together high-level decision-makers on peace and security from governments and intergovernmental organisations (HoSGs, AU organs and RECs), other regional institutions, the private sector, critical segments of continental and regional civil society networks, as well as peace and security experts. In addition, representatives of stakeholders in global peace and security will also be invited.

Discussions will be designed to (i) share views and experiences informally and independently, (ii) be action oriented and forward-looking and, most importantly, (iii) keep the essence of its concept: a consultative forum that is not intended to become a decision-making forum.

Thus, the main format will be panel discussions and interactions. Further, introductions to these discussions are expected to be short statements.

The Forum is convened on an annual basis and has become an institution in its own right. It enables leaders to explore options for innovative and joint action in peace and security. The Forum also allows for trust-building among key players who would often only meet in settings that are mediated by diplomatic protocol. Altogether, it enables African leaders to develop and implement adequate and proactive initiatives in peace and security on the continent.

IX. PARTICIPATION

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) of Addis Ababa University is hosting the Secretariat of the Tana Forum. Attendance is non-transferable invitation only and a maximum of 250 intended participants is expected to attend the 2022 Tana Forum in-person at Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, while 50-60 will be invited to join online via a designated link. For more information, please visit our website www.tanaforum.org or forward enquiries to the organising team at tanaforum@ipss-addis.org.
SUMMARY ON THE THEME

THE CONTEXT

This year (2022) marks the 10th Anniversary of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, the flagship annual event to engage in deep reflections to find solutions to the continent’s myriad peace and security challenges. It coincides with a unique moment in Africa and the world primarily due to the fragilities imposed by the unforeseen outbreak and spread of the Covid-19 pandemic and state measures to curb it. While old fault lines remain, new ones are producing tensions and threats that are converging within- rather than outside- states in a way that is exposing the underbelly of fractured state- society relations.

The signals of threats to peace and security across the African landscape are evident in the decline of democratisation, weakening of critical public institutions, the resurgence of ethnoreligious and other parochial identities, food insecurity and weak preparedness of African state to address its impact and externalities, and the proliferation of actors and risks in ways previously not contemplated. Yet even at that, the prevailing cloud of uncertainty provides the opportunity to think deeply and act decisively to confront such triggers and enablers of today’s insecurities. Understanding Africa’s security threats today also requires rethinking the role of actors and initiatives at national, regional and continental levels and that of international partners in soliciting solutions.

The starting point of this 10th Tana Forum is to give primacy to African citizens in the discourse on security and resilience across multiple political, economic and social spaces. The overarching goal is to explore issues at the intersection of building a people-enabled peace, security and resilience in line with the African Union theme of the year 2021 and 2022, respectively; that is, “Arts, Culture and Heritage” and “Resilience in Nutrition and Food Security”. Alongside taking stock of the evolution of threats to peace and security challenges on the continent and the impact of global insecurity, the focus will be on mobilising and building the type of home-grown and local resilience that allows the voice and agency of African citizens to blossom.
THE FOCUS

To do otherwise is to weaken the resolve and capacity of African citizens to face and defeat threats associated with terrorism, violent extremism and transnational organized criminality that now feature prominently- and dangerously- across the continent’s security landscape. From the Horn of Africa and across the Sahel arc, and from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the Central Africa Republic and Mozambique, there is a sense in which Africa risks becoming the new epicentre of terrorism in the world. There is palpable concern over the growing threat of terrorism either undermining or overwhelming the coping and resilience capacity of the state in ways that put a great number of people at risk. Coupled with this is the phenomenon of extreme violence and transnational organised crime, both of which have been further entrenched and exploited by criminal networks and non-state armed groups under the prevailing conditions necessitated by the Covid-19 pandemic and consequent lockdown. The most telling fallout from this chain of threats is the weakness and inability of the state to respond effectively.

Added to this is that these insecurities have become the most important driving factor for the continuous displacement of people within and across borders and the accentuation of human rights violations in these conditions. The UNHCR report 2021 indicates a significant increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons in Africa. Without looking beyond approaches that have yielded little in terms of Silencing the Guns, the problem of terrorism, violent extremism, TOCs and the threats they pose to people and communities would remain and continue to grow.

Furthermore, the global context in terms of the impact of the war in Ukraine and climate change have impacted food security in Africa. This stirs the need for discourse around food insecurity and its impact. The World Food Programme and Food Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations testifies to the high dependence of African countries on Russia and Ukraine as they rely on both countries for wheat, fertiliser, or vegetable oils. The impact of climate on land, crops and livestock as it exacerbates food insecurity and conflict is also a major component that cannot be ignored.

In virtually every context that resilience is threatened or undermined, governance issues and priorities are stretched to limits that quickly manifest in social tensions, upheavals and violence. Underlying governance issues of lack of inclusion, injustice and rights violation, weak resource governance management, absence of social safety nets/welfare of citizens, weak responsiveness to climate issues and food insecurity, withering local governance/authorities, declining economic/empowerment opportunities, flawed electoral system/process, and attempts at Unconstitutional Change of Government (UCG) etc. are evolving into major sources of fragility with grave implications for peace and security. Against these
backdrops, the evolving character and disposition of the state in Africa is tilting more towards authoritarianism and repression. The dual identity of the state as a provider of security and threat sources raises fundamental questions that border first and foremost on the status of the social contract between the state and citizens, and at a broader level, the quality of state-society relations.

**WHY BUILDING RESILIENCE MATTERS**

The prospect of managing threats by investing more in governance and building resilience, with a significant premium given to citizen’s active and sustained participation in public affairs, remains an important component in achieving resilience. Inclusion, participation and an enhanced democratic space are essential to addressing Africa’s propensity to conflict and engender a culture of peace. Building systemic resilience from below by investing in local authority and governance that leaves ‘no one-behind’ may seem uphill, but it is also the critical missing link required to confront and tackle the continent’s myriad challenges today. Thus, the conversation around how to renew a sagging commitment to the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance and other similar frameworks at regional and global levels, together with implementable action plans, has become urgent and imperative than ever.

Since the coronavirus outbreak in January 2020, Africa has had its fair share of the effects of the pandemic that has been more pronounced because the health system in many countries is in dire straits. Moreover, the Covid-19 pandemic has further exposed the crisis in the African health sector as a result of poor or outright lack of investment in health infrastructures that have greatly limited the capacity of health institutions to respond as effectively as they should. But COVID-19 is no longer just a health crisis but a hydra-headed public policy dilemma that touches virtually every aspect of society.

As participants at the 10th Tana Forum interrogate the health impacts, there is also a need to explore other multifaceted aspects in the context of peace and security, including how health systems create security challenges and vice versa. It would be important to assess how a resilient health system and the rollout of vaccines constitute an important source of in/security to other sectors at this critical period. Asides, giving attention to the risk of misinformation and disinformation, with the potential to fuel apathy, social unrest and conflicts, there is the need to evaluate Africa’s contribution to the 4 management of the pandemic, including investment in research and knowledge products that reflects Africa’s solution to a global problem.

In addition, the political dimension of its linkage with the existing global power structure and contestation and its implication for Africa’s politics and health security can no longer
be discounted. Important in this regard, also, is how much data is driving Africa’s approach to counter direct and indirect health effects of Covid-19, such as mental health and the accompanying socio-economic challenges. Finally, amidst multiple citizen-led initiatives currently in place is the need to document gaps and opportunities and what those might mean for state-society relations in the medium and long terms.

Africa now faces even more acute climate change and climate resilience challenges that have significant security implications for citizens in the context of food insecurity, migration, agrarian conflict, access to water, to highlight a few. It is well documented that climatic change induces migration which puts enormous pressure on communities to find alternative livelihoods and survival. What is perhaps less obvious is how attention to these critical issues is becoming overshadowed. Governments see them as posing lesser security threats than managing, for instance, political unrests, banditry, insurgency, and terrorism. Yet, without sufficient and timely intervention to manage them, climate risks can become a source of conflict, as is the case with farmer-herders clashes in Nigeria, sometimes leading to a greater form of hostility and security threats. A comprehensive policy with an implementation strategy on climate mitigation and adaptability would be key to driving climate resilience, especially in the context of peace and security at national, regional and continental levels.

At the heart of peace and security in Africa are numerous institutions, programmes, and initiatives at different levels to promote governance, transnational justice and reconciliation, and peacebuilding. Yet, despite the modest progress made in recent years, peace has remained elusive on the continent partly because they are framed in a top-down manner that not only pay lip-service to the preferences and priorities of ordinary Africans but end up disenfranchising and alienating them. Thus, while the need to interrogate the functional relevance of existing peace and security institutions and normative frameworks at regional and continental levels, it has become more pressing to promote and re-establish the voice and agency of citizens. Localising peacebuilding by bringing it much closer to the grassroots is, therefore, critical.

A key issue that sits at the centre of managing threats and building a resilient Africa is the mainstreaming and strengthening of youth and gender inclusion. The quest to mainstream gender in governance, peace and security agenda, and praxis has had a longer history than building a robust and resilient youth, peace, and security agenda for Africa. While progress on both counts is still far-fetched, there is no question that the ability of governments to manage current threats effectively rests largely with the constituency of the youth and women. Their demographic strength, projection and their demonstrated capacity to disrupt and to innovate demonstrate their tremendous importance. African youth continue to create resilience in alternative spaces such as music, arts, and culture through the digital
space. On their part, women, much more than men, continue to bear the brunt of internecine conflicts, extreme violence and poor social policies while remaining underrepresented in key structures of governance. While their lack of inclusion may not necessarily pose an immediate threat, their poor representation within the peace and security framework reflects poorly on perceptions of threat and the strategies to address them effectively and sustainably.

This year’s Tana Forum is invariably about how best to respond to emerging socio-economic, political, governance challenges or manage such threats in a way that we do not lose sight of the continent’s most important resource: its citizens. How Arts, Culture and Heritage, the AU theme for 2021, can be converted into currencies for promoting enduring peace in the light of the continent’s myriad challenges needs to be interrogated. By shifting focus away from state and institutions to citizens and peoples across different levels, the course of a better future becomes clearly defined and attainable.

The Forum further aims to offer participants another opportunity to rethink the nature, character and goal of international partnerships vis-à-vis the state of peace and security in Africa. Distracted by similar in some cases, overwhelming problems related to the Covid-19 pandemic at home, Africa’s key international partners are rethinking the focus and content of their support in ways that may not augur well for the continent in the long term. In particular relation to prolonged conflicts such as the case in the Sahel, external forces have and continue to play contrasting roles that question their commitment to finding lasting solutions to Africa’s problems. Therefore, it would be important to understand and capture how diversity, equity and inclusion are reflected in Africa’s international partnership/engagement.

By way of summary, the key arguments around which the theme of this year’s Tana Forum is framed are as follows: (1) that building resilience has gained new currency in the light of new fragilities imposed by the unforeseen outbreak, and spread of the Covid-19 pandemic and state measures to curb it; (2) that measures towards building resilience must be deliberate in placing citizens at its fulcrum, recognizing and amplifying their voice and agency in the process of reimagining governance and peacebuilding; (3) that building resilience is not a one-off event but a process that takes time and resources; (4) that the state can only play a role that is necessary and desirable in building resilience if the deeply fractured social contract with citizens is repaired; and (5) that the international community can contribute to building citizens resilience but must do in a manner that is sensitive to their priorities.
THE SUB-THEME

The final object of the Forum is to mobilise and synthesise knowledge and insights that would assist a range of national, regional and continental actors in contributing better to shaping the future of the Africa we want in a more promising and assuring direction. In no particular order, the underlisted issues will guide the 10th Tana Forum deliberations:

- Are continental and regional institutions on peace and security fit for purpose?
- What resources are required to better manage the transition from conflict to peace: peacebuilding, transitional justice and reconciliation?
- In what way is terrorism, violent extremism and transnational organized crime today undermining peace and security, and what should be done to sustain/advance peace and security?
- The resurgence of military coups in Africa (Unconstitutional Change of Government)
- How to strengthen resilience in (nutrition and) food security
- Climate risks/resilience, displacement and security
- Managing threats through governance versus building resilience through citizen participation: is there a convenient middle point?
- The African state and in/security paradoxes (the state as security providers and threat sources) Contending African voices and agency in managing new security threats
- Building resilient health systems or a more all-encompassing peace and security architecture to manage health and related insecurity
- Managing Covid-19 data gaps and related security threats
- Citizens and the State in the contexts of changing state-society relations during Covid-19
- Building Resilience through youth and gender inclusion
- The role of art, culture and heritage in building a culture of peace from below.
- Is African leadership in peace and security feasible?
Chronology of Tana (10th anniversary of the Forum)

- **2012**: Managing Diversity and State Fragility
- **2013**: Security and Organised Crime in Africa
- **2014**: Illicit Financial Flows
- **2015**: Secularism and Politicised Faith
- **2016**: Africa in the Global Security Agenda
2017
Ownership of Africa's Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reforming the African Union

2018
Natural Resource Governance in Africa

2019
Political Dynamics in the Horn of Africa: Nurturing the Emerging Peace Trends

2020
The AfCFTA
Revitalising Pan-Africanism for Sustainable Peace and Development in Africa

2022
Managing Security Threats: Building Resilience for the Africa We Want
KEY HIGHLIGHTS

- H.E. Abiy Ahmed, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia delivered the opening remarks at the high-level session.
- There were high-level speeches and statements delivered by H.E. Lt. Gen. Abdel Fattah Al-Burhan (President of the Transitional Sovereign Council of the Republic of Sudan); H.E. Jessica Rose Epel Alupo (Vice President of the Republic of Uganda, who delivered her speech on behalf of H.E. Yoweri Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda); and finally, H.E. Hamza Abdi Barre (Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Somalia).
- H.E. Yilkal Kefale, PhD (President of the Amhara Regional State) delivered the welcoming address to all delegates at the 10th Tana Forum.
- H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat, African Union Commission Chairperson, presented the keynote address.
- The high-level remarks and statements covered the broad themes of security and the impact of COVID-19; the threats of climate change and food and water insecurity; the resurgence of unconstitutional changes of governments in Africa with increasing cases of coups; the place of Africa within the multilateral system, and the importance of collective action; and harnessing Africa’s cultural heritage and diversity in driving an African agenda in the international system amidst the challenges and opportunities that it presents.
- Panel sessions and deliberations were conducted across the three days of the 10th Tana Forum covering five major thematic areas:
  1. unconstitutional changes of government (UCG) in Africa with focus on the drivers and challenges of the resurgence of Coup d’états in Africa
  2. the impact of global insecurity on the continent and Africa within the international system and the pitfalls and crisis of multilateralism
  3. climate change, preparedness, adaptation, and financing for Africa
  4. the importance of harnessing Africa’s cultural heritage for resilience and integration
5. Tana@10 and stocktaking of the continent’s peace and security landscape

• Six side events were organised on the edges of the Forum, covering relevant subthemes. Specifically, the events focused on the following:

1. Redefining the Role of Comprehensive Multi-threat Risk Assessment and predictive data: Creating an African Index and Building Positive Peace

2. The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) as a tool to Prevent Unconditional Changes of Government in Africa

3. Safeguarding our Heritage: The need for Peace and Security for Heritage protection in Africa


5. Africa/Europe: Right-Sizing Multilateralism for an Era of Poly-Crisis

6. Quick fix or long-term solution? National Dialogues as Mechanisms for Crisis Prevention and Management of Transitions

7. Tana@10 – Reflections, Recognition and Awards

8. Understanding the Responses of Military Coups in Africa – UNDP report launch ‘Ephemeral populism-restoring and sustaining constitutional order in the aftermath of military coups in Africa’

• Pre-forum events featured a tribute lecture series in honour of Late President Kenneth Kaunda; the Vice Chancellors’ dialogues; and the Tana Forum’s 10th anniversary commemoration and awards recognitions bestowed on institutions and individuals for their contributions towards the achievement of the ultimate objectives of the Tana Forum.

• The annual book launch, and the Tana Forum African University Essay Competition awards, and a closed session organised on the findings of an ongoing research on restoring and sustaining constitutional order in the aftermath of military coups in Africa completed the full spectrum of activities during this 10th anniversary of the Tana Forum.
HIGH-LEVEL OPENING REMARKS AND SPEECHES

H.E. Abiy Ahmed (PhD), Prime Minister, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Opening Speech

The Prime Minister, Federal Republic of Ethiopia and Host of the Tana Forum, H.E. Abiy Ahmed (PhD) used his welcome remarks to open the ceremony and welcome all the delegates who attended the 10th Tana High-Level Forum. The Prime Minister registered his delight at the diversity of the delegates and their commonality of purpose to build a resilient Africa through discussions about ways to manage issues that threaten peace and security on the continent. He noted that “Building a resilient Africa is not just about working to meet expectations but also developing home-grown solutions that are sustainable”. This is against the backdrop of increasing challenges to resilience that the continent faces on the back of climate change-related extreme events, the negative externalities linked to the war in Ukraine and the economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, among other issues.

“Building a resilient Africa is not just about working to meet expectations but also developing home-grown solutions that are sustainable” — H.E. Abiy Ahmed

H.E. Abiy Ahmed emphasised three crucial security issues: water and energy security, and data governance. Africa’s experiences of recurrent droughts, famines and floods retell the story of Africa’s climate change burden despite contributing the least to the problem. He noted that most Africans reside in rural areas and depend solely on rain-fed subsistence agriculture, and one in three Africans experiences water scarcity. Similarly, the war in Ukraine impacted the global energy supply, with difficult economic impacts on African populations. Africa must therefore innovate technologically to address water and energy deficiencies. It must start developing strategies on the geopolitical dimensions of technology and consider a pan-African data governance strategy to help Africa realise a single African data market: one aligned with the AU Agenda 2063 and affirms African values and supports an African digital market economy. He thus urged African governments, development institutions and even non-governmental organisations to collaborate and strengthen local capacities to adopt Artificial Intelligence (AI) and big data for a more competitive pan-African digital economy. Finally, the Prime Minister emphasised the imperative for the integration of African youth within these processes of governance to exemplify inclusive governance especially in driving innovative solutions for Africa’s energy needs and building a competitive digital market.
H.E. Jessica Rose Epel Alupo, Vice President of the Republic of Uganda

H.E. Jessica Epel Alupo (Vice President of the Republic of Uganda), represented President Yoweri Museveni (President of the Republic of Uganda), at the Forum, and presented the speech on his behalf. In her remarks, H.E. Alupo reflected on the multi-layered nature of the security threats plaguing Africa from political governance - with resurgent coups - down to climate change, COVID-19, terrorism, and the ripple effects of the Russia-Ukraine war.

She identified five forms of security challenges that persist on the continent namely: military, economic, environmental, political, and cultural. Connected to these are fundamental structural problems of unemployment, underdevelopment, and real/perceived social exclusion among others. Together, these issues constitute major drivers of extremism, violence, food insecurity and increasing vulnerabilities. Within these fragile spaces, youth, including women and persons with disabilities are caught in a vicious cycle of violence that continues to diminish opportunities for them to make meaningful impacts in their lives and those of their communities. She thus emphasised the imperative to strengthen youth engagement for peace by deploying hard and soft approaches to de-incentivise radicalisation and address the root causes of youth unemployment.

The Vice President noted three urgent action points for Africa. She noted that Africa should push for ambitious actionable plans for climate change commitments and financing; compliance with continental and regional normative frameworks to address threats to constitutionalism and the rule of law must be enhanced and strengthened, and the continent must strive towards a universal subscription to the African Peer Review Mechanism. Finally, H.E. Alupo called for the adoption of Africa’s rich and diverse cultural environment to drive a culture of peace and strengthen the institutions required to advance and promote peace, security, and development on the continent.

“Cultural heritage in Africa offers opportunities and promises to manage security threats in Africa through regional integration and cooperation” — H.E. Jessica Epel Alupo
H.E. Mr Hamza Abdi Barre, Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Somalia

The Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Somalia, H.E. Mr Hamza Abdi Barre, offered his remarks by highlighting the similarities between the Somalian people’s discursive environments and what the Tana Forum logo - the Baobab Tree – represents: an environment of frank conversation about pertinent issues of importance within societies. He congratulated the organisers for maintaining the platforms of open, honest, and robust conversations towards advancing African solutions to Africa’s multiple peace, security, and development challenges. The Prime Minister reiterated Africa’s challenges of conflicts and climate risks and identified two crucial components within Africa with the capacity to strengthen or derail the quest to achieve peace and security on the continent: connectivity and people. He emphasised that connectivity exposes and amplifies fragilities – nationally, regionally, and continentally. A lack of connectivity makes it challenging for countries to pull resources together to address common problems. So, while connectivity can prevent Africa’s challenges from becoming endemic, the lack of infrastructure makes connectivity difficult. It erodes national and continental strides towards advancements beyond just the movement of goods and services but also the management of threats to peace and security.

“A core component of Africa’s development strategy must be people. We must nurture cohesion and ensure constant engagement and mobilisation of communities.” — H.E. Hamza Abdi Barre

H.E. Barre drew on the efforts of his government in the fight against extremism and terrorism to emphasise the importance of a people-centred approach to peace-making and confronting internal security threats. An important reference is made to the role played by ordinary citizens in Somalia which has been instrumental to the gains made by the government in the struggle against the Al-Shabaab militant group in the country. Drawing on this experience, he emphasised that the core component of Africa’s development strategy must be people. It is non-negotiable in Africa’s development path to nurture cohesion and ensure constant engagement and mobilisation of people and communities.
H.E. Lt. Gen. Abdel Fattah Al-Burhan, President of the Transitional Sovereign Council of the Republic of Sudan


H.E. Lt. Gen. Abdel Fattah Al-Burhan, President of the Supreme Transitional Sovereign Council of the Republic of Sudan also reiterated the importance of the 10th Tana Forum in discussions about peace and security in Africa. He called for responding to the root causes of conflicts on the continent and emphasised the centrality of cooperation and integrated approaches by governments and partners within strides to understand conflict drivers and proactively respond to them. He congratulated Ethiopia for hosting and providing the atmosphere for these conversations, and emphasised the desire of the Republic of Sudan, as an active state in the region, to constructively participate in the activities of the Tana Forum since its inception. H. E. Al-Burhan reiterated the commitment of his government to deliver on the mandate to oversee the withdrawal and exit of the military force from the political debate and take up its constitutional role of protecting and maintaining the security and sovereignty of the Republic of Sudan. He concluded with optimism that the 10th Tana Forum will reach practical solutions that will contribute towards achieving peace, stability, growth, and prosperity in the IGAD region and the peoples of Africa.

‘For our part, we affirm our firm positions that we announced, which require the withdrawal and exit of the military force from the political arena, so that it disperses to perform its basic tasks in protecting the security and sovereignty of the country..’

— H.E. Abdel Fattah Al-Burhan
H.E. Yilkal Kefale, President of the Amhara Regional State, Ethiopia

The President of the Amhara Regional State (H.E. Yilkal Kefale PhD) welcomed participants to Bahir Dar. He noted with conviction the capacity of the 10th Tana Forum to continue its contributions towards finding ways to build and sustain peace, security, and development in Africa. He stated that Tana is the spirit of Africa, and through the conversations that the Tana Forum facilitates, there is a great deal of hope and belief in the place and role of this Forum to bring about the sustainability of peace, and the effective management of security challenges on the African continent. He enjoined all delegates to enjoy the hospitality of Bahir Dar and Lake Tana as they deliberate further on ways towards actualising ‘the Africa that we want’.

‘Tana is the spirit of Africa; Tana can bring about the sustainability of peace and the management of security in Africa’ — H.E. Yilkal Kefale
In his keynote address, H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat recognised the progress made in developing mechanisms to promote peace and security in the continent. He acknowledged the fragility of the security environment in Africa in the political, social and health areas. He highlighted the inability of governments and institutions to meet the needs of the people of Africa. This is reinforced by poor economic policies, governments’ politics with crushing high unemployment rates, manifestations of discontent, risks of insecurity, ethnic and religious confrontations. There is violence in Africa more than anywhere else in the world, and that has resulted in a significant deceleration of development. Although the AU has adopted a plethora of measures for the promotion of peace and security on the continent, conflicts have persisted. The Chairperson urged stakeholders to join hands with the AU to strengthen existing mechanisms to ensure peace on both regional and continental levels. An important mechanism within the AU systems in this regard is the AU Peace Fund designed to finance some of Africa’s security needs. However, there are still gaps within this mechanism due to inadequate funding, hence the need to replenish and increase this fund.
The State of Peace and Security in Africa (SPSA) Report 2021 was presented by the Former President of the Republic of Ghana, H.E. John Dramani Mahama (Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board). His remarks centred on the recent trend and emergence of different security and governance challenges captured in the 2021 report. Reflecting on the outcomes of the report, President Mahama noted the sad resurgence of military coups, unconstitutional changes of government and the incidences of intra-state conflicts. Other challenges captured in the report include increased cases of radicalisation, terrorism and violent extremism, xenophobia and sectarian violence, limited economic growth, youth bulge without opportunities for productive engagements, illegal and irregular migration, climate change and environmental degradation, transitional crimes, and pandemics and epidemics, especially COVID-19. The report also captures areas of opportunity for Africa including opportunities to: invest in social economic development; exercise continental leadership on issues of regional concern; strengthen the regional frameworks and mechanisms for conflict prevention - complementarity between the AGA and the APSA; and take full advantage of President Joe Biden’s commitment to UNSC reforms. Other positive entry points include ramping up adequate financing for the governance and peace and security – AU Peace Fund; implementing AU norms and values on democratic governance, peace and security; and building and strengthening capacities in vaccines manufacturing and pharmaceuticals, including prevention capacities on pandemics and epidemics in Africa. In conclusion, President Mahama admonished that Africa should respond to the rising threats to security, peace, and development by investigating the root causes of national, regional and continental insecurities; strengthening early warning to prevent, manage, resolve and maintain sustainable peace and security.
FORUM KEY MESSAGES

Seven key messages were strongly channelled throughout the event, on a broad range of issues with direct bearing on the overall theme and the future of the Tana Forum:

1. The resurgence of Coup d’états on the continent threatens the gains of democratisation in Africa.

2. The Russian-Ukraine war and the Covid-19 pandemic have directly and indirectly impacted negatively on Africa but at the same time should prompt the continent to innovate in the area of agriculture to promote food security; strengthen its health infrastructures including research capacity in vaccine production; and re-echo its voice for a reformed UNSC.

3. De-securitise climate risks and emphasise resilience-based approaches to climate risks mitigation and adaptation (i.e. multi-sectoral and decentralised risk management, sustainable funding models) from central to community levels.

4. Harness the cultural richness of the continent and promote and protect cultural diversity including adopting a collective approach to reclaim lost cultural artefacts.


6. Facilitating enduring transitions must remain at the centre of the AU interventions in troubled states.

7. Build mutually reinforcing partnerships and reinvigorate the Tana High-Level Forum to deepen dialogues about, and interrogation of, difficult questions on Africa’s peace, security, and development.
FORUM KEY OUTCOMES

The following points reiterate the main outcomes of the 10th Tana Forum (2022): On Unconstitutional Change of Governments and resurgent Coup D’états in Africa

- The resurgence of military coups on the continent is reversing the progress achieved towards democratic consolidation, especially in West Africa the epicentre of most of the recent coup d’états. Added to this is the gradual withering of governance institutions and the inability to consolidate previous democratic gains leading to popular disenchantment among the citizens.

- Leadership deficit (at all levels) and socio-political and economic challenges have contributed to increased restlessness, disillusionment, and widespread feelings of anomie. These failures are creating immense popular disenchantment, triggering the search for alternatives. Strengthening governance institutions is essential to sustain democratic systems beyond elections.

- Excluding young people from governance, and disregarding the issues they raise, deepens citizens’ disenchantment with existing governance systems and reduces opportunities for meaningful and innovative contributions towards development. Consequently, the ostensible applause of coup d’états is not necessarily an approval of coups, as a form of governance, but a demonstration of popular frustrations about the failure of constitutional systems to deliver governance dividends.

- There is a growing gulf between the demand for a more accountable and responsive system of governance and the supply side. The apparent disconnect between the legal, normative and policy frameworks for upholding constitutional governance and the realities on the ground in AU Member States erodes confidence in AU frameworks and deepens the challenge of addressing UGCs on the continent.

- The resurgence of UCGs reflects many underlying governance shortcomings. It is therefore imperative to rethink political systems in Africa, the substance of the education system, the role of the AU, RECs, CSOs, and the engagement and participation of young people in governance. It is also incumbent on the AU, RECs and Member States to demonstrate consistency in their response to UCGs and coups on the continent.
On the Impact of Global Insecurity on the Continent

• The Russian-Ukraine war negatively affected food and energy security in Africa, with extended direct and indirect negative human rights consequences for vulnerable groups (especially women and children). Many victims of human rights violations, especially women and girls, suffer increased socioeconomic deprivation and exacerbated violence due to the difficulties created by this war.

• The crisis generated by the war in Ukraine and the reactions of the global powers reflect the crisis of multilateralism and a UN system that is not fit for purpose especially as it pertains to the African experience and participation in shaping global security and development discourses and agendas.

• There was a consensus among participants that this crisis was for a reformed multilateral system where Africa is respected and treated equally and fairly. Consequently, restructuring, or reforming global institutions is an important step towards a more balanced international order, especially for Africa. (To engage effectively within the international system, Africa requires a more coordinated and strong diplomatic agenda for Africa at the UN.)
On Climate Change, preparedness, adaptation, and financing

- Africa contributes the least to climate risks and problems, but the continent remains the most vulnerable. Hence the global community needs quick and resolute actions on adaptation and resilience which must translate into appropriate resource mobilisation.

- Addressing climate risks in Africa requires de-securitising climate risks and emphasising resilience-based approaches that focus on protecting and providing basic human needs such as infrastructure, safe drinking water and environmentally friendly policies in a sustainable manner.

- Africa desperately needs more climate financing as well as a strong Early Warning System (EWS) to help the preparedness and adaptation of people and communities. A complementary approach to climate adaptation financing is the mobilisation of the private sector to support adaptation.

- Climate change is an environmental, development and security crisis. African governments must therefore invest more in climate change resilience and promote public awareness of climate change. Women and youths are vital within ensuing adaptation and resilience measures/plans. Such plans also need to take families into consideration, especially at the grassroots.

- Context-based assessment and capacities of local actors require reinforcement. Governments and humanitarian actors need to invest, through capacity building and resources, in first responders in vulnerable communities and societies. This investment should be continuous due to the recurrent nature of these extreme weather events.
On Harnessing Africa’s Cultural Heritage or Resilience and Integration

• African identity involves internalised cultural value systems and heritages that are incredibly useful as a political tool to unite and bring communities and conflicting parties together. Governments must invest in cultural heritage – although political attention is inadequately committed to valorising African heritage – because the values that characterise African cultural heritage have proved integral to peacebuilding and conflict resolution efforts on the continent.

• In the age of digital communication, cultural heritage in the form of folk music, dancing, poetry, and indigenous knowledge systems are fast losing their visibility. Therefore, building resilience should include work to maintain the visibility of African heritage.

• There is a need to promote cultural diversity and harness the continent’s cultural richness. Part of this process can include the establishment of historical museums in African countries and the promotion of cultural exchanges where different country museums can plan heritage exhibitions on African history and cultures.

• Most of the important African cultural artefacts are not in Africa, especially the moveable heritage. An AU-led coordinated action for restitution and the return of these artefacts to Africa is highly recommended over and beyond the current individual and isolated country-led approaches to recover these cultural artefacts.
On Emphasising African-centeredness and people in the framing of development strategies in Africa

- Africa needs to shape its own development narrative. This also means revisiting the discourse about Africa, even in the diaspora, in such a manner that dominant narratives, which cast Africans as passive people, are challenged to acknowledge Africa’s (and Africans’) contributions to history and civilisation.

- It is also crucial to assess the intrusion and disruptive influence of foreign entities/powers in Africa’s affairs, in particular, in the slave trade, and how this contributes to widespread (mis)representation of Africans as victims.

- There is an urgent need to integrate the general history of Africa into school curricula to deepen a sense of identity and history in the minds of Africans. This also means that the focus on Africa’s heritage and development should transcend ‘a look into the past’ because it is not about the Africa of the past but a projection into the future to shape an Africa for today and the future.
On Evaluating the continent’s peace and security landscape: Facilitating enduring transitions

- The African peace and security architecture should be used to solve problems that transcend simply protecting victims. Continental response mechanisms need to be re-evaluated based on professional and capable leadership as well as closer coordination with think tanks and experts to strengthen the depth and quality of concepts and praxis.

- Despite the existence of impressive and comprehensive normative and institutional frameworks relevant for peace and security, there has been an oversized prioritisation of regime security and securitised responses at the expense of human security needs.

- Conflict prevention should be prioritised to minimise investments in conflict resolution measures. The Africa Peace and Security Architecture should place more emphasis on preventive diplomacy, early warning systems, risk assessments, and intelligence sharing as crucial components to strengthen conflict analyses and ensure that policy responses are adequate and fit for purpose.

- Greater synergy is required between governance and security pillars and frameworks of the AU to enhance greater and closer coordination at the regional and sub-regional levels. Multilevel policy response and capacities need to be enhanced, for instance, African leadership and capacity in advancing the Malabo protocol on counterterrorism.

- Self-financing and financial autonomy are also critical for Africa to reduce dependence on external donors to finance the peace and security initiatives led by the AU.
On the Ten years of the Tana High-Level Forum and Africa’s peace and security discussion

- The opportunity to address challenging peace, security, and development issues with key stakeholders – former Presidents, prominent politicians, officials of multilateral and bilateral institutions, academia, civil society and the public – must be leveraged to its fullest potential to respond to deep cross-cutting peace and security questions affecting the continent.

- The Tana Forum should intensify its mandate as a platform to critically examine the efficiency and relevance of formal institutions and frameworks established in Africa, as well as engagements with external strategic partners.

- African solutions to African problems should not be narrowly interpreted to mean that non-African actors cannot contribute to the peace process in Africa, rather it should mean that Africa has a historical understanding of the complex security issues as well as the local knowledge and should, therefore, take the lead in addressing them.
CONCLUSION

The 10th Tana High-Level Forum was concluded on the 16th of October 2022 with the report of the chief rapporteur, who provided a summary of key takeaways from the three-day dialogue, and the closing remarks and vote of thanks by H.E. John D. Mahama. The key takeaways from the dialogues were captured under the five major thematic areas covered during the discussion. These were around issues of unconstitutional changes of government; global insecurity and its impacts on Africa, climate change preparedness, mitigation, and financing; harnessing African cultural heritage; and taking stock of Africa’s peace and security strides. Central to the issues identified in this outcome summary were the links between UCG and leadership failures as well as the exclusion of women and youth in governance systems within African countries. It was also emphasised that reforming the international systems to capture the desires, values and interests of Africa should more adequately be a priority led by African countries working collaboratively to engage productively within this system. Looking inwards to address challenges of food insecurity, through innovation, agricultural investments, and climate policies, was also highlighted. In fact, against the backdrop of climate risks, resilience-focused approaches that emphasise the provision of infrastructure and facilities that assist citizens with adapting to extreme events, including capacitating local first responders, were also crucially highlighted to support security.

In his closing remarks and vote of thanks, H.E. John D. Mahama reiterated how crucial it is to address the rising challenges of insecurity in Africa. He re-emphasised that democracy regression in Africa is a major effect of leadership deficits across the continent that therefore requires urgent steps institutionally and from the level of the citizenry to contribute towards fixing or addressing. For Africa’s presence and contributions to the multilateral global order, this must be considered a necessity both in terms of the right thing for Africa to be valued within the global order within an equal partnership, but also in terms of the unique contributions and unique value systems that would benefit the overall structure and focus and achievements of that system. H.E. Mahama concluded by reiterating the importance of the Tana Forum as a platform for robust conversations that are outcome-oriented too - hence the opportunities to critically engage different stakeholders on the various questions and issues that impact and or challenge the actualisation of peace, security, and development in Africa.
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Ato Semachew Demelew  
Bahir dar City Administration Youth League Head  
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Mr. Baye Alebachew  
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Youth and Universities Representative, Ethiopia
Partners/Funders
1. Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE)  
2. Amhara Regional State, FDRE  
3. African Union Commission (AUC)  
4. Ethiopian Airlines  
5. Bahir Dar University  
6. Avanti Blue Nile Resort  
7. Midroc Investment Group  
8. Berghof Foundation  
9. Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP)  
10. Chatham House  
11. European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM)  
12. European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR)  
13. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)  
14. Open Society Foundations  
15. Embassy of Switzerland, Ethiopia  
16. Embassy of Ireland, Ethiopia  
17. Embassy of Canada to Ethiopia  
18. United States Institute of Peace (USIP)  
19. Humanity United  
20. Mission of Japan to the African Union  
21. Organisation internationale de la Francophonie  
22. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)  
23. International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)  
24. Embassy of the Peoples’ Representative of China, Ethiopia  
25. New Zealand Embassy, Ethiopia  
26. Embassy of Portugal in Ethiopia and African Union (AU)